

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 151157 TOSEC 070026

NODIS
KOOLAIID/ FOR TARNOFF FROM ANDERSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR SECRETARY'S APPEARANCE AT
LONDON CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE.

1. AS WE DISCUSSED PRIOR TO YOUR DEPARTURE, I THINK THAT
THE SECRETARY CAN AND SHOULD FOCUS ON THE GENERAL STATE
OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS IN HIS REMARKS TO THE COMS IN
LONDON. MARHSALL HAS PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING TALKING
POINTS BASED ON THE SECRETARY'S RECENT MEMO TO THE
PRESIDENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT: U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

-- RELATIONS ARE BESET WITH DIFFICULTIES. THE
PRESIDENT'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH CHARTED A COURSE FOR DEALING
FOR MOSCOW. HERE ARE SOME OF INGREDIENTS OF ANALYSIS
UNDERLYING THE SPEECH AND DIRECTIONS WE CAN ANTICIPATE
IN IMMEDIATE PERIOD AHEAD.

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ANALYSIS:

-- MOOD OF EXASPERATION AND HOSTILITY TOWARDS USSR IN THE
U.S. STEMS FROM THREE MAIN ELEMENTS:

(1) SOVIET AND CUBAN PROPENSITY TO OFFER HIGH LEVEL OF

MILITARY ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING DIRECT COMBAT INVOLVEMENT, IN AFRICA. THIS PRESENTS A DILEMMA FOR US IN SEEKING TO RESPOND WITHOUT RESORTING TO MILITARY INTERVENTION OF OUR OWN.

(2) WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT SOVIETS ARE BUILDING THEIR MILITARY STRENGTH TO LEVEL SURPASSING ANY REAL DEFENSIVE NEEDS, THEREBY CALLING INTO QUESTION THEIR MOTIVES.

(3) UNDERSTANDABLE ANGER AT SOVIET ACTIONS IN HUMAN RIGHTS AREA, SUCH AS ORLOV SENTENCE AND MOUNTING HARRASSMENT OF DISSIDENTS.

-- IN MOSCOW THERE IS ALSO MOOD OF GREATER HARSHNESS, BASED ON SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF OUR ACTIONS. WE MAY DISPUTE VALIDITY, BUT THEIR APPREHENSIONS APPEAR GENUINE, AS FOLLOWS:

(1) SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA IS WITHIN ACCEPTABLE BOUNDS OF COMPETITION BECAUSE IT IDENTIFIES WITH JUST CAUSES. MOREOVER, IT COMPENSATES FOR SOVIET LOSS OF INFLUENCE IN MIDDLE EAST, FOR WHICH U.S. IS BLAMED.

(2) U.S. INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS IS SEEN AS A PRETEXT FOR SEEKING TO UNDERMINE THEIR SYSTEM.

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(3) THE SECURITY APPARATUS FEELS UNDER CHALLENGE AS A RESULT OF TWO COMPROMISES OF THEIR ACTIVITY AND SUBSEQUENT PUBLICITY; THEIR RETALIATORY PUBLICITY AND HOSTAGE ARREST OF U.S. BUSINESSMAN ARE MEANT AS WARNING.

POLICY:

-- AS THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT OUR REAL STRENGTHS EXCEED SOVIET STRENGTHS. BUT WE MUST DEAL WITH PROBLEM AREAS OF RELATIONSHIP IN WAYS THAT DRAW ON OUR STRENGTHS.

-- WITH REGARD TO MILITARY BALANCE, THE PRESIDENT IS COMMITTED TO AN EFFORT TO REACH AN EQUITABLE SALT II AGREEMENT. WE ARE ALSO PROCEEDING SERIOUSLY ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN SEVERAL OTHER AREAS. MBFR SHOWS SIGNS OF GREATER LIFE THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

-- ON HUMAN RIGHTS, WE NEED TO WEATHER A POSSIBLE SHCHARANSKIY TRIAL IF WE ARE UNABLE TO DISSUADE MOSCOW FROM CONDUCTING IT. HAVING MADE THEIR POINT, THEY MAY

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THEN BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT OURS: HUMAN RIGHTS ARE A
PRIORITY MATTER FOR U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. WE MAY BE ABLE
TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND IN SUSTAINED INCREASES SINCE
LAST AUTUMN OF JEWISH EMIGRATION.

-- SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THIRD COUNTRIES IS AN ASPECT
OF COMPETITION THAT WILL ALWAYS BE WITH US. CIRCUMSTANCES
WILL NOT ALWAYS FAVOR THEM AS IN ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA.
AND WE SHOWED IN OUR SUPPORT OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AND
AFRICAN ACTIONS IN SHABA THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACT IN
OUR INTEREST.

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-- SOVIET MEDIA HAVE BEEN BUSY RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT
OUR POLICY AND HAVE TYPICALLY SOUGHT TO CAST DOUBT ON OUR
COMMITMENT TO DETENTE RATHER THAN FACE THE CHOICE
OFFERED TO THEM BY THE PRESIDENT OF PURSUING A CONSTRUCTIVE
RELATIONSHIP OR CONTINUING BY THEIR OWN UNHELPFUL ACTIONS
TO PERPETUATE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF RIVALRY. SOVIET
LEADERS HAVE YET TO REACT, HOWEVER, TO ANNAPOLIS SPEECH--
AND IN ANY EVENT IT IS SOVIET ACTIONS MORE THAN WORDS
THAT WILL CONSTITUTE THE KEY RESPONSE.

-- FOR OUR PART, YOU CAN ASSURE GOVERNMENTS TO WHICH YOU
ARE ACCREDITED THAT WE HAVE NO INCLINATION TO RETURN TO
COLD WAR. WE CONTINUE TO VALUE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST.

-- WHILE WE DO NOT SEE THE PROSPECT OF A RETURN TO THE
"DETENTE" RELATIONSHIP AS IT WAS THOUGHT TO EXIST IN
THE 1972 PERIOD, WE SEEK A MORE REALISTIC, IF MORE
LIMITED, RELATIONSHIP, BASED UPON A REGULATION OF THE
COMPETITIVE ASPECTS AND PROGRESS IN SALT AND OTHER ARMS
CONTROL FIELDS. OVER THE LONGER RUN, WE HOPE THAT THIS
MAY OPEN THE WAY TO AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE COOPERATIVE
ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONSHIP. WE WILL WORK PATIENTLY
TOWARD THIS END DESPITE FRICTIONS OF THE MOMENT WITH
MOSCOW. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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